593 548 578 home of Lim Li-kui's foster family. Violent quarrels between the two women were the rule rather than the exception, and while Lim Li-kui was often at fault her daughter's responses would not have been 593 548 578 525 tolerated in another family. Once when the daughter found that her mother had lost more than seven dollars in two days' gambling she insisted that her mother give her the remainder of the family's money for safe keeping. Always a sharp tempered woman, Lim Li-kui answered,

"This is my money! Why should I give it to you? I know I gamble, but what about you? Don't you gamble too?"

Lim A-sui: "All right! I'm not going to argue with you. I just have to say something so that people won't think it's all my fault."

Lim Li-kui: "Don't be so shameless! You are always telling people that I lost a lot of money gambling and then sold your clothes to pay my debts. You know how much money I got from you. You don't give me all of the money you make. Aren't you ashamed to say these things?"

Lim A-sui: "There is nothing I can do. You like to gamble so much that I don't dare give you all of the money."

Lim Li-kui: "You are right! I gamble too much! What can you do about it? And what about you? When you were working in Tainan you lost all of the money you made, and so I had to come to the place where you were working and tell you not to gamble anymore. You said you didn't care. You said you could just go with one of the guests there anytime. You didn't have to worry about money. Remember? You said you didn't have to worry about saving money, and you told me that there were lots of women working there older than me! I'm old now, and so I don't care if people laugh at me, but if you say all of these things I can tell you who people are going to laugh at."

Lim A-sui: "The way you talk you make it sound as though I liked to work in that place. But why was it that you wouldn't let me come home when I wanted to quit?"

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 (Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

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It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

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A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

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A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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come home feeling ill, and his wife was in another house in the village gambling. He sent someone to call her home several times, but she delayed. When she finally returned, he slapped her and scolded her roundly. "I tell you not to go out and gamble, but you pay no attention. Here I am sick and there isn't even anyone to hand me a glass of water. I sent someone to call you, but you wouldn't come back. If you ever do that again, I'll beat you to death."

Gioq-ki, of course, answered him word for word, their verbal exchange disintegrated into a physical one, and the listening neighbors were obliged to enter the house and separate them. Chang left and Gioq-ki stood on the doorstep yelling curses after him.

It was the stereotype of a Chinese family quarrel, from the listening neighbors to the wife yelling curses at her husband's departing back. Gioq-ki took her neighbor's teasing calmly enough until the neighbor slyly commented on her swollen eyes and hoarse voice, "Just like someone who has lost her lover."

This made Gioq-ki angry. "I should have such good luck! Don't worry about me! When he went out, I told him to hurry off and get himself killed."

The neighbor offered a bet to one of her companions that if Chang Jong-kuei wasn't back within three days his wife would be in Taipei looking for him. Gioq-ki told her savagely, "Never! Never! I want to see him dead. Why should I go look for him?"

Chang returned, but the quarreling continued. Gioq-ki told me herself of another quarrel, one of which she seemed rather proud although I found nothing in it of credit to her: "Last night when I just had a mouthful of rice yet to eat, A-hua came in with the baby who was crying and crying. I told her to get him out of there so I could finish my last mouthful of rice in peace. She answered me rudely, 'I tried to make him stop crying and he won't. He wants to eat.' Her rudeness made me mad, but I just asked her to speak lower. She shouted again and asked, 'How low do I have to speak?' This really made me mad because at the same time my husband started scolding me, 'You never try to eat a little faster and just sit there and let my child cry and cry.' And then my grandmother came in and had to say something too, 'You are always making her take care of your children so how can you sit and scold her like that?' My mother heard all this so she came in from the kitchen and said, 'It is your own child who is crying, and you don't do anything about it, so how can you go around

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known to them and came up with a figure close to NT$10,000, not including their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypocritical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That Iu Mui-mue! Her body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT$800 worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the other food. She borrowed over NT$400 from my father-in-law a long time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gambling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should stop gambling.'"

Iu Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slattern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well financially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

The final contrast is with members of the lowest class group in the community in terms of economics although the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 575 [71] Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to those which have been described for a Japanese village (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

525 $300.00. The second night the club meets, everyone writes
575 a bid somewhat less than $300.00 (in even dollar amounts only) on a piece of paper and places it in a hat. After the bids are mixed up, each is lifted out with chopsticks and placed on a table in order of removal from right to left with the low bid declared the winner. In case of a tie, the bid on the right is the winner. The winner collects the amount of his bid from each member except that any previous winner (including the originator, winners are now called debtors to the club) pays the full original amount of $300.00. This process continues until everyone has collected once, so of course, only those who have not yet collected place bids.

Since early collectors bid less than the required amount, it is possible to wait until the end, each time paying less than the full amount, and yet collect the full amount from every other person. That is, with 21 members a participant would pay 20 times and collect once from the other 20 members. If every bid was $300.00, everyone would break even, but a typical early bid is $250.00 to $260.00 dollars, but the person who collects at this $250.00 rate will eventually, as a debtor, pay the full $300.00. Even if the cash is not needed, one should put in an early bid under $300.00 because the money could be placed in a bank or post office, earn interest, and eventually be paid back without interest. The amount of the potential interest income determines early bids for

525 those who do not need the money. In essence, a man is in
575 a legal gambling situation in a country which has declared any gambling other than the official government lottery illegal. Although the period between bids in the traditional accounts are of varying lengths up to once a year, meetings in Sanlei are always monthly. The largest club in the area during our residence contained 30 members and therefore, took 30 months to complete.

There are advantages for every participant in the club. The originator obtains a large sum of money which is paid back monthly without interest. He has the responsibility to collect the money from each person within three days of the bid and turn it over to the winning bidder, and he sometimes provides small refreshments such as soda pop and cookies. Each member also benefits as he has a ready source where he can get a sizeable sum of money merely by placing a low bid. Furthermore, by joining the club, he directly performs a service for the originator since the latter always furnishes a reason for his need for money. Frivolous needs would be rejected. The monthly meeting is also a social situation, consuming an hour or more of one evening each month. It is also a major topic of discussion before the meeting with speculation about the size of the winning bid and after the meeting, there is more comment about why someone may have needed the money so badly, indicated by a below average bid. Finally, even if no profit is realized, the club is an enforced

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered
[563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but
[829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join
525 clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it
562 appears that women usually constitute about half the
575 membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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595 rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households: some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the